

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 04015 01 OF 02 041614Z

42

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03

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INFO USMISSURN NATO

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 4015

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT RO

SUBJ: ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM: FIRST APPRAISAL

1. SUMMARY: DRAFT PROGRAM OF ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (RCP)

PUBLISHED SEPTEMBER 1 -- FIRST IN ROMANIAN HISTORY --

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PAGE 02 BUCAR 04015 01 OF 02 041614Z

IS FORMIDABLY SIZED AUTHORITATIVE THEORETICAL STATEMENT

OF ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENT PATH TO COMMUNISM. WITH PROBABLY ONLY MINOR CHANGES IT WILL BE CENTERPIECE OF 11TH PARTY CONGRESS IN NOVEMBER AND RCP'S IDEOLOGICAL GUIDE PURPORTEDLY FOR AT LEAST NEXT 15 YEARS. FOLLOWING IS OUR INITIAL ASSESSMENT SUBJECT TO REFINEMENT AFTER MORE THOROUGH CANVASSING OF LOCAL SOURCES:

2. NEW BROAD-BRUSH RCP PROGRAM IS OUTGROWTH OF CEAUSESCU'S CONCERN SINCE 1972 AND ESPECIALLY IN 1974 TO DISPEL UNCERTAINTY OVER BASIC RCP STRATEGY AND TO PROVIDE REGIME WITH BETTER CONCEPTUAL GUIDELINES AT TIME OF INCREASING SOVIET PRESSURE FOR GREATER CONFORMITY IN EASTERN EUROPE. AS ANTICIPATED, RCP PROGRAM VIGOROUSLY UPHOLDS ROMANIA'S DECADE-LONG DETERMINATION TO DECIDE INDEPENDENTLY ITS OWN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES. BEYOND THIS, SLIGHTLY MORE CHALLENGING TO KREMLIN, IT GOES SOME WAY TOWARD SETTING UP RCP AS LATTERDAY IDEOLOGICAL PATHFINDER, OFFEJXNG IMPLICITLY MORE RELEVANT MODEL FOR "SOCIALIST STATES TO BE" IN THIRD WORLD AND ELSEWHERE, AND CALLS PERHAPS SOMEWHAT MORE BLUNTLY THAN EARTJER FOR A REVISION OUTWARD AND BLURRING OF BOUNDARIES OF "SOCIALIST CAMP" TO INCLUDESNORE HETEROGENOUS GROUPINGS.

3. HOWEVER, PROGRAM OVERALL IS CLEARLY LESS INNOVATIVE THAN GOR ACTIONS HAVE PRESAGED SINCE 1972 PARTY CONFERENCE. DESPITE SMALL PLUG FOR SPECIAL ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO POORER COUNTRIES WITHIN CEMA, PROGRAM BACKS OFF FROM LABELING ROMANIA A "DEVELOPING" COUNTRY, ALREADY AN EMERGING KEY RCP CONCEPT. ON DOMESTIC SIDE, ECONOMIC SECTIONS ARE EVEN LESS BOLD, PROVIDING ONLY REHASH OF PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED GUIDELINES FOR SUSTAINED INTENSE DEVELOPMENT. MOREOVER, CURIOUSLY STATIC PARTY-STAOY SECTIONS ROUTINELY REVIEW VARIOUS

ORGANIZATIONAL ENTITIES BUT VIRTUALLY IGNORE CEAUSESCU'S ACCELERATED BENT FOR HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND OMIT ANY THEORETICAL JUSTIFICATION THEREOF. PROGRAM'S THRUST INTERNALLY IS TOWARD EVER GREATER DISCIPLINE, OBEDIENCE, WORK CULT, AND UNITY IN ROMANIAN SOCIETY: THE CEAUSESCU IMPRINT. ON THE WHOLE, DOCUMENHHIS LESS CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BUCAR 04015 01 OF 02 041614Z

INTERESTING AS COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM FOR ROMANIA'S DEVELOPMENT THAN AX BID FOR RCP INFLUENC8, 3/0-,\$8,& ,9-MAN'S LAND BETWEEN "SOCIALIST" AND "NON-ALIGNED" WORLDS. END SUMMARY

4. MUCH OF DOCUMENT BOILS DOWN TO STRONG IF LARGELY STEREOTYPED ROMANIAN DEFENSE (PROPPED BY QUOTES FROM LENIN AND ENGELS) OF NATIONAL IDEA, AUTONOMY OF INDIVIDUAL

CP'S, AND PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGNTY. THESE ARE FOR MOST PART AMALGAMATED FROM TRADITIONAL STATEMENTS BUT AUTHORITATIVE REITERATION IS SIGNIFICANT IN PERIOD WHEN INTERNATIONAL CP GATHERINGS ARE UNDER DISCUSSION. AMONG SCATTERED POLEMICAL BARBS AGAINST MOSCOW ARE WARNINGS AGAINST "COSMOPOLITANISM, GREAT-POWER CHAUVINISM AND HEGEMONIUY" (BELIEVE FIRST TIME LATTER CHINESE EPITHET HAS ENTERED PURELY ROMANIAN LEXICON) AND AGAINST "SUPPORTING FACTIONS AND INTERNAL MEDDLING" IN OTHER CP'S. PROGRAM DECRIES TENDENCY TO COUNTERPOSE INTERNATIONALISM AGAINST NATION-STATE (AS SOVIETS DO) AND ABJURES "BLAMING" OTHER CP'S OR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. PROGRAM RAISES TO AUTHORITATIVE LEVEL THESIS THAT HISTORICAL ROMANIAN CLASS STRUGGLE WAS LARGELY IDENTICAL WITH NATIONAL LIBERATION (I.E. EXPLOITER CLASSES WERE FOREIGN OPPRESSORS). AS USUAL, COMINTERN'S MISHANDLING OF RCP DURING 1920'S AND 1930'S IS CATALOGUED, AND OBLIQUE DEMURRER ON SOVIET POSSESSION OF BESSARABIA AND BUKOVINA IS REGISTERED.

5. IN FOREIGN RELATIONS, DOCUMENT MANAGES TO PLACE ROMANIA ABOUT MIDWAY BETWEEN USSR AND CHINA, EACH BEING "GREAT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES" MERITING "SPECIAL ATTENTION." MENTION OF USSR IS INVARIABLY RESPECTFUL, GIVING CREDIT WHERE DUE, BUT ALWAYS COUNTERBALANCED OR QUALIFIED: SOVIETS WILL FIND LUMPING OF GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION WITH ITS CHINESE AND TURKISH EQUIVALENTS PARTICULARLY DISTASTEFUL. WARSAW PACT IS IGNORED EXCEPT IN CONTEXT OF ITS DESIRED DISSOLUTION ALONG WITH NATO (ALTHOUGH ROMANIAN MILITARY WILL "HONOR ITS OBLIGATIONS").

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PAGE 01 BUCHAR 04015 02 OF 02 041631Z

42

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 4015

6. TO DILUTE SOVIET LEVERAGE AMONG CP'S BY MEANS OF OUTSIDE FORCES, PROGRAM CONTINUES RCP'S PREVIOUS PUSH TO DEFINE MUCH MORE BROADLY WHAT IS "SOCIALIST SYSTEM" OR "SOCIALIST COUNTRY," ARGUING THAT FORMER CANNOT BE EXCLUSIVE CLUB OR SUPRANATIONAL ORGANIZATION. IN THIS SENSE. IF ROMANIA CAN'T GO TO THE NON-ALIGNED, SHE WILL BRING NON-ALIGNED TO HER. PICTURE IS DRAWN OF VIRTUALLY ANY PATH TO SOCIALISM BEING ACCEPTABLE, WITH ONLY PRE-CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUCHAR 04015 02 OF 02 041631Z

REQUISITE "CREATIVE APPLICATION OF MARXISM-LENINISM TO LOCAL CONDITIONS." SIMILARLY, PROGRAM RATES WIDE CONGERY OF "PROGRESSIVE" OR "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" FORCES - INCLUDING JUST ABOUT EVERYBODY - AS MORE SIGNIFICANT FOR FUTURE THAN NARROWER COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. FAINTLY REMINISCENT OF CHINESE APPROACH IS UNCHARACTERISTIC BOW TO PEASANTRY AS HISTORIC BACKBONE OF ROMANIA AND "POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY FORCE" IN MANY COUNTRIES. WHILE PROGRAM FAILS TO STATE UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT ROMANIA IS "DEVELOPING" COUNTRY, IT TAKES UP CUDGELS FOR POOR AGAINST RICH AND ELABORATES THIS "NON-ALIGNED" DICHOTOMY.

7. FAILURE TO PROVIDE ANY CONCEPTUAL RATIONALIZATION IN PARTY-STATE SECTION FOR CEAUSESCU'S ASSUMPTION OF NEW PRESIDENCY, ABOLISHMENT OF PERMANENT PRESIDUM, CREATION OF PERMANENT BUREAU, AND OTHER STRUCTURAL CHANGES IS PERHAPS FEATURE OF PROGRAM HARDEST TO ACCOUNT FOR. IT MAY BE, HOWEVER, THAT CLARIFICATION WILL ENSUE AT NOVEMBER CONGRESS ITSELF OR THAT OPENENDEDNESS IS

REQUIRED FOR FURTHER CHANGES AT THAT TIME.

3. PROGRAM'S DOMESTIC SECTIONS CONTAIN LITTLE CHEER FOR ROMANIAN LIBERALS, WITH GENERALLY RETROGRESSIVE CEAUSESCU-LIKE ANTI-INTELLECTUAL SIGNALS PREVAILING IN SECTIONS ON ART AND LITERATURE, MEDIA, ETHICS, AND PARTICULARLY WHERE "COLLECTIVE LIBERTY" IS SAID TO PREVAIL OVER "PERSONAL LIBERTY." HOWEVER, PROGRAM MAKES EFFORT TO REASSURE ETHNIC MINORITIES THAT THEIR "SPECIFICITY" WILL ENDURE EVEN AS NATIONS INTO PERIOD OF FULL COMMUNISM, SAID TO BE ACHIEVABLE IN "SEVERAL" FIVE-YEAR PLANS, DESPITE OVERALL HOMOGENIZATION OF SOCIETY AND FORMATION OF "SINGLE WORKER" OBLIVIOUS OF ETHNICITY. MORE EMPHASIS ON AGRICULTURE PARALLELS THAT IN DIRECTIVES AND SHOULD HEARTEN ADVOCATES OF MORE BALANCED DEVELOPMENT. UTOPIAN SECTION ON ACHIEVEMENT OF COMMUNISM STIPULATES THAT PARTY IS TO KEEP GETTING STRONGER UNTIL IT GRADUALLY BLENDS INTO AND SWALLOWS THE ORGANIZING PROCESSES OF SOCIETY.

9. COMMENT: RCP DRAFT PROGRAM APPEARS TO HAVE NEITHER THE GROUNDBREAKING SIGNIFICANCE NOR INTELLECTUAL FORCE
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PAGE 03 BUCAR 04015 02 OF 02 041631Z

OF ROMANIA'S 1964 "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE," AND IT IS RELATIVELY CRUDE HANDIWORK. WHILE ITS CONTENTS ARE CLEARLY OBJECTIONABLE TO MOSCOW IN MANY RESPECTS, CEAUSESCU HAS SKIRTED OR OMITTED SERIOUS INNOVATIONS THAT MIGHT PLACE BUCHAREST IN THE TOILS OF A SERIOUS CONFRONTATION. HE MAY YET CARRY FORWARD PARTY-STATE CHANGES AT THE NOVEMBER CONGRESS. BUT WHETHER THE PROGRAM AND ITS LACK OF FRESH IDEOLOGICAL COHERENCE WILL MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE TO CEAUSESCU'S DRIVE TO MOBILIZE THE ROMANIAN ELITE AND POPULACE AROUND HIS POLICIES REMAINS TO BE SEEN.
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